

SCOTLAND'S STORY

7

**The true story
of MacBeth**

**When Malcolm
met Margaret:
the odd couple**

**Scots among the
crusaders**

**David – caring
king with blood
on his sword**

**Jinglin' Geordie,
as good as gold**




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1040

The failures of Duncan I ends with his supporters murdering him. MacBeth becomes King of Alba.



1054

MacBeth retreats to Moray after he is defeated at Dunsinnan, north of Perth.



1057

MacBeth is slain at Lumphanan, in Aberdeenshire by Malcolm Canmore. He is buried on Iona.



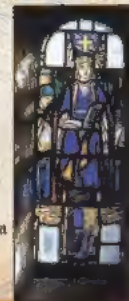
1058

Malcolm III is crowned king of Scots after killing MacBeth's successor Lulach, at Essie Near Rhynie.



1093

Margaret and Malcolm die within days of each other – he in battle, she from the ravages of a lifetime of fasting.



1124

The death of Alexander I, King of Scots. David I succeeds to the throne and sets about Normanising Scotland.



1095

Scots answer Pope Urban II's call for a crusade to conquer the Holy Land.

1138

David I invades England. At the Battle of the Standard, south of the Tees, the Scots are defeated. But David still gains Northumberland.



1153

David I's reign of almost 30 years ends with his death at Carlisle. He is buried at Dunfermline.

**In Part 9:
William: the lion
king of Scots**

SCOTIA

PART OF
ENGLAND

North
Channel

PART OF

Orkney

NORTH
SEA

Aberdeen

Stonehaven

River Don

Banff

River Spey

Inverness

Thurso

Wick

Leois

Little Minch

Skye

N. Vist

S. Vist

Mull

Islay

Stirling

Glasgow

Firth of Forth

Argyll

Argyll

Argyll



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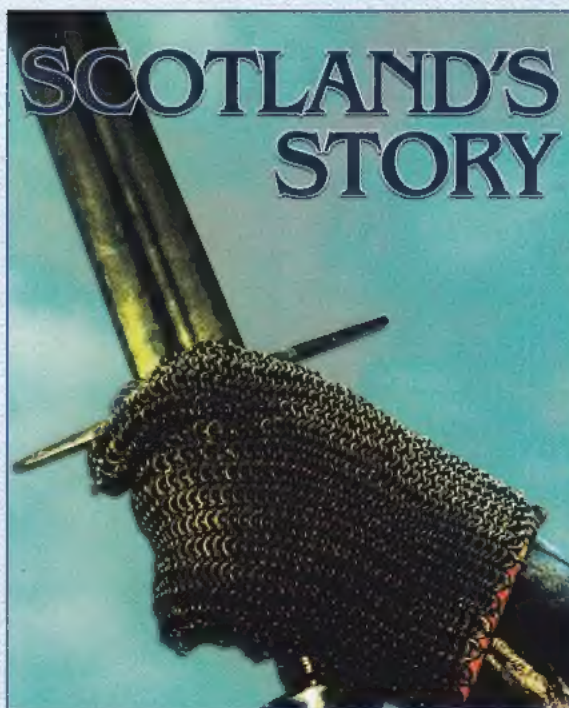
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COMMENT



COVER:
A strong arm and a sharp sword were absolute necessities for a king in Medieval Scotland

MacBeth was the real victim

Thanks to an English playwright, Scotland's last great Celtic king is seen as a deranged murderer. But the reality is somewhat different.

MacBeth's 17-year reign was a prosperous and bountiful time for his kingdom.

According to contemporary accounts, he was tall, strong and fair. He was referred to as 'the liberal king'.

MacBeth was well-liked by his people, helped contain the Viking threat and went on a pilgrimage to Rome.

And he certainly did not murder his predecessor, Duncan, while he slept – as William Shakespeare would have us believe.

But that wasn't the first or the last time that a Scot's reputation has been sullied by an English pen.

She was a delicate, devout Saxon princess, shipwrecked on the Fife coast after fleeing from the invading Normans.

The saintly Margaret just wanted to be a nun – but, the price of her family's sanctuary was her forced marriage to Scotland's fierce warrior king Malcolm Canmore.

Hardly a match made in heaven, but by the time of her death 26 years later Margaret had changed

the face of Scotland for ever.

At first she was distrusted and disliked as a foreigner. But the people came to love Margaret for her piety and virtue, and she became a national icon.

She even refined her warrior husband, although that didn't prevent him carrying fire and sword into England.

It was on one of these raids that Malcolm was killed. Just days later Margaret, too, was dead. But the dynasty they founded lasted for two hundred years.

David I son of Malcolm and Margaret, came to the throne in 1124 and dragged Scotland kicking and screaming into the 12th century.

Few reigns have been so pivotal in the history of a nation as was David's. He was virtually brought up as a Norman knight at the court of King Henry I of England, and when he became King of Scots he surrounded himself with foreign advisers and administrators.

He built magnificent abbeys and cathedrals, founded burghs, encouraged trade and introduced our first native coinage.

But he was also a ruthless warrior who well understood the use of terror as a weapon.

Good King MacBeth, the lord of plenty

The real story of the man is far from Shakespeare's celebrated version. Indeed, MacBeth's 17-year reign was a prosperous and generous one, and he was to be fondly remembered as the last great Celtic king of Scots



MACBETH.

■ An 18th-century imagined image of the 'ruddy-faced' liberal king by J Hall – in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

The single most important fact we know about MacBeth is enshrined in a line borrowed from a Latin poem composed within a generation of his death. It says: "In his time there were productive seasons" – fertile tempus erat. Or, as Andrew Wyntoun, the 15th Century Scottish chronicler put it: "All his tyme was gret plenté / Aboundand baith in land and sé."

Scots in MacBeth's time still believed in vestiges of sacral kingship, which meant that if calamity came upon the land in such disasters as war, famine, pestilence or atrocious weather, the solution was to sacrifice the king. MacBeth could thus have earned no higher praise. According to an Irish poem he actually radiated the prosperity for which he was so famous – he was 'ruddy-faced, strong, fair, yellow-haired and tall', the 'liberal king' who reigned for 17 bountiful years from 1040 to 1057.

It is beyond expectation that anything remotely resembling a biography can be constructed from the scant materials which survive. Five hundred years after MacBeth's death the great humanist, George Buchanan, observed that "some of our writers" related "a number of fables, more adapted for theatrical representation, or Milesian romance, than history" about the king.

For information about his life we can draw upon a few contemporary (or near-so) annals and chronicles, including the Orkneyinga Saga which has hitherto been ignored as a repository of information. In addition we have traditions and information preserved in later chronicles which may have drawn upon earlier materials since destroyed.

Nowadays 'personalities', pop stars and politicians who are nobodies have screeds written about them. Here we are dealing with a life reconstituted from a few scribbles in a far-off time about events imperfectly understood by scribes who had little conception of historical causation or motivation – and cared even less.

It is known that his name, MacBeathadh, means Son of Life but when his life began is not known. He was the son of Findlaech mac Ruaidri, Mormaer of Moray, who was slaughtered by his nephews in 1020. He was thus a member of the Cenel Loairn, one of three kindreds, or clans, established by the Scots of Dalriada – of which it sometimes held the kingship.

Through time it expanded and migrated through the Great Glen to Moray, a region extending across the Highlands from the Moray Firth to the West Coast. MacBeth thus had an impeccable pedigree and his father held the old Pictish title of mormaer or 'great steward' equating with Old Norse jarl and



English 'earl'. In one source Findlaech was called 'king of Alba' which testifies to the status of the House of Moray in this period. Clearly MacBeth was brought up to believe that he had a claim to the Scottish kingship.

In 1032 one of Findlaech's slayers, Gillacomgain, Mormaer of Moray, was burned to death along with 50 of his men. It may be presumed that MacBeth had a hand in this act of revenge which gained him the

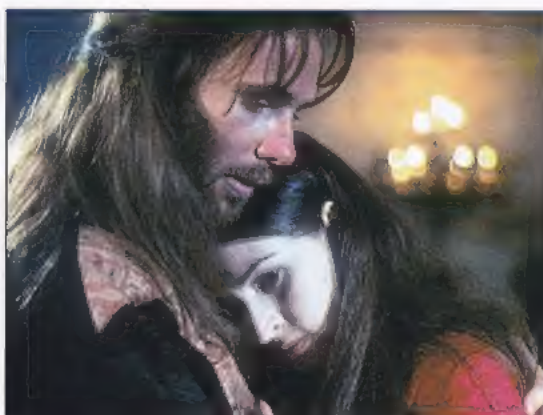
■ Shakespeare's bloody play has formed the basis for many films loosely based on the life of MacBeth. This scene is from Roman Polanski's 1971 version and features Jon Finch as the king and Francesca Annis as Lady MacBeth.



coveted title of mormaer, and for good measure, with the intent of strengthening his own claim, he married the deceased's widow, Gruoch. This lady was herself the descendant of earlier kings and as such combined several impressive claims in her own right. It is important to realise that primogeniture, succession by the eldest son, was completely alien to MacBeth's era and culture. Custom favoured a system of succession which

alternated between recognised kindreds while Celtic law demanded the election of a king who was of a sufficiently mature age to lead his people in war and to counsel them in time of peace. There were therefore some unhappy folk in Moray when Malcolm II, after a reign of 30 years, was succeeded by his grandson, Duncan. An entire generation, namely that of MacBeth, had been overlooked, his claims usurped.

After a reign of six years (1034-40) Duncan was killed 'by his own people' at Pitgaveny near Elgin. Only one authority states that his slayer was his dux or war-leader, MacBeth. There is a hint that it was Duncan's immaturity or lack of king-like qualities which cost him his life. Indeed, he may have been sacrificed for good reason as, shortly before his death he had unsuccessfully besieged Durham. Five years later Duncan's father and ►



■ MacBeth on screen: Orson Welles (1948); Jason Connery and Helen Baxendale in the 1997 Grampian production; Francesca Annis as Lady MacBeth (1979)

Duncan the Catastrophe was doomed

Malcolm II and his grandson successor Duncan I were a starkly contrasting pair who brought success and disaster to Alba in almost equal measure.

By the time of his death in 1034, Malcolm II had proved himself to be a ruthless but effective ruler, turning Alba into a confident trinity of king, land and people.

His achievement, though, was a strangely ambiguous one. Although his expansionist successes caused him to be hailed by Irish annals as 'King of Alba, the honour of all the west of Europe', his death plunged the nation into crisis when the throne passed to his daughter's son – Duncan.

Chronicler John Fordun depicted Malcolm's successor as popular and easy-going; Shakespeare portrayed him as a wise old man; but in reality Duncan I was young, rash and not very able.

After he succeeded his grandfather, Duncan married a cousin of the Earl of Northumberland and fathered two future kings, Malcolm III Canmore and Donald Bane. However, Duncan's royal virility was not matched by a capacity to effectively lead the nation.

Duncan's reign was punctuated by one military catastrophe after another. His cousin, Earl Thorfinn the Mighty, hammered him twice in battle, and in 1039 he led the disastrous siege of Durham which brought the kingdom nothing but heavy casualties.

Plans were hatched to have Duncan removed, and he was killed in 1040 by exasperated 'supporters'. These probably included MacBeth, Moray's most famous son.

'nine score fighting men' were also slain in battle. Again it may be inferred that MacBeth was involved but the matter is not certain.

One of MacBeth's half-cousins was Earl Thorfinn the Mighty of Orkney who claimed possession of Caithness and Sutherland and whose ambition knew no bounds. In order to check his aggression MacBeth, as King of Scots, demanded tribute and when it was refused – as he must have known it would be – he attempted to appoint his nephew Moddan as mormaer of Caithness. When, predictably enough, Thorfinn drove Moddan out, MacBeth responded by leading a fleet of 11 ships which caught the Orkney men by surprise off Deerness in the Pentland Firth.

The convention was to lash the ships together so that what was essentially a land battle took place on a floating platform. MacBeth was defeated as he was again, a few months later, at Tarbat Ness. The Orkneyinga Saga, which preserves information on these naval engagements, was understandably concerned to glorify the great deeds of Thorfinn and the men of Orkney. It relates how the Orkney earl went on to conquer a great chunk of Scotland although its veracity is in doubt. The importance of the saga evidence is that it shows MacBeth (confusingly known as Karl Hundason to the sagamen) operating in a northern orbit as he tried to contain the Norse threat, in which endeavour he enjoyed more success than the saga admits.

The year 1050 found MacBeth on pilgrimage to Rome where "he scattered money like seed to the poor". Since the Second Coming had failed to transpire in 1000 AD, the king chose the next best time to visit the Eternal City. Remarkably enough Thorfinn went the same year though whether they travelled together is unknown; possibly one kept a wary eye on the other, each acting as guarantor for mutual good behaviour. Both must have felt confident enough as rulers to leave their respective domains for a considerable period while they undertook the lengthy and hazardous journey. MacBeth was undoubtedly pious by the standards of his age. He and Gruoch, "with the utmost veneration and devotion", granted lands in Fife to the Culdees of Lochleven, while the pilgrimage indicates that he was concerned about the destination of his soul.

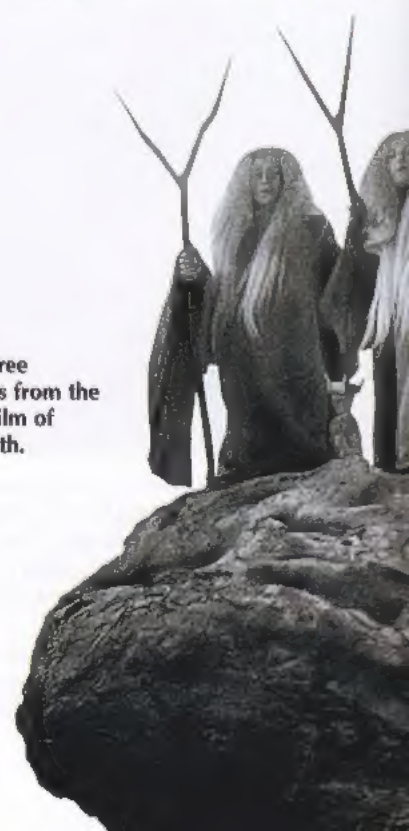
Meanwhile Duncan's son, Malcolm Canmore, was cultivating English support to win back the kingship. In 1054 Earl Siward of Northumbria

marched against MacBeth to fight a great battle; 300 years later the battlesite was named as Dunsinnan in the parish of Collace, Perthshire. This still impressive earthwork provides spectacular views south towards Dundee and Fife, north across Strathmore to the Grampians and west to the Dunkeld gorge. Today it is not even signposted, perhaps out of deference to the king who was forced to retreat in defeat over the Grampians. Three years later he made his last stand at Lumphanan, Aberdeenshire, where "Malcolm cut him off by a cruel death".

Thus the few bare facts about one man's life, more of defeat than glory perhaps, but his prosperous reign was a cause for celebration and in later years he would be remembered as the last great Celtic king of Scots from whom many clans were proud to trace their descent. In the eyes of some he was also the last king uncontaminated by English influence yet the first recorded Normans in Scottish history fought on his side at Dunsinnan.

History, however, is written by the victors and by the 14th century stories designed to blacken MacBeth's name which were in circulation probably derived from bardic

■ The three witches from the 1948 film of MacBeth.





■ The Victorian actress Ellen Terry as Lady MacBeth – by John Singer Sargent (1899).



■ As new King of Scotland, MacBeth orders the execution of Banquo. Shakespeare's drama is echoed in this painting by George Cattermole (1800-67) in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Thorfinn, the man who chased down Duncan

Thorfinn the Mighty was an unruly Lord who seems to have spent more time at the court of his grandfather Malcolm II, King of Scots, than at that of his own sovereign, the king of Norway.

He succeeded his father, Earl Sigurd, as an infant in 1014. Having a Celtic mother and grandmother, Thorfinn is an example of the mixed-people that permeated all ranks of society at that time.

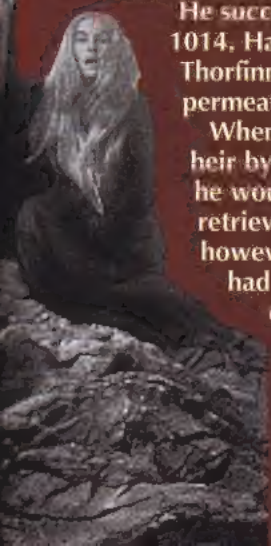
When Malcolm II died in 1034, Thorfinn was his heir by descent. Had he succeeded to the throne, he would have probably speeded up Scotland's retrieval of the Isles from Norway. Mysteriously, however, both Thorfinn and MacBeth, who also had a claim through tanistry – election of the eldest and worthiest – allowed the throne to rest with the young Duncan I. It is conceivable that Thorfinn and MacBeth wanted to use the weaker Duncan to

further their own individual interests while avoiding conflict with each other.

The lame Duncan soon had to be removed, and Thorfinn was involved in chasing down the unfortunate ruler, although how he died in 1040 and who killed him is not clear. More shadowy political manoeuvrings followed as the throne then passed to MacBeth.

Thorfinn maintained friendly relations in the Scottish court until MacBeth's death in 1057, and it seems the two made a pilgrimage to Rome at the same time. Thorfinn's piety also saw him establish the first Bishopric at Orkney, building a church on the island of Birsay described by the Orkneyinga Saga as 'magnificent'.

It was near his church on Birsay that Thorfinn spent his last years. His relations with the Scottish court deteriorated when Malcolm Canmore attempted an invasion of his islands.



Death of the fugitive

Three years after MacBeth's disastrous defeat at the battle of Dunsinnan, he makes his last appearance in the chronicles as a fugitive, hunted down and killed by Malcolm Canmore in a skirmish in a remote woodland west of Aberdeen.

First details of MacBeth's death are given by John of Fordun in his *Scotichronicon*, compiled in the late 14th century.

Around 1057 MacBeth was seeing his own forces being diminished daily while those of his adversaries were increasing. He took flight from the southern parts of his kingdom and went to the north, in whose narrow passes and deep woods he hoped to find safety.

MacBeth probably intended to raise a force in his former Mormaerdom of Moray, where his people were still loyal. Malcolm quickly followed him across the mountains, and a running engagement then ensued. This drove MacBeth into the tiny woodland of Lumphanan, whose western approaches then comprised dense marshes and a wide shallow loch.

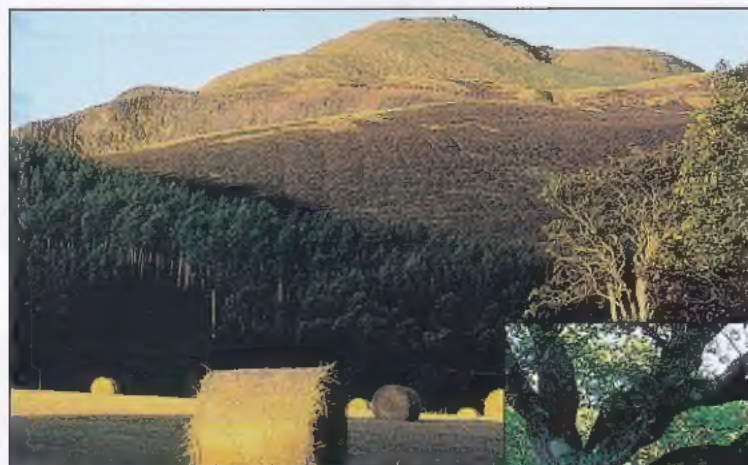
In local traditions, MacBeth was surprised by an attack from Malcolm's men

on Queen's Hill near Aboyne, drank from a nearby well during the pursuit, and turned at bay at the Peel of Lumphanan, under whose defensive earthworks, he received his death wound. Some say he was slain while leading a charge of his bodyguard.

MacBeth's severed head was brought to the triumphant Malcolm – on a pole according to some, on a golden platter according to others.

MacBeth has become associated with a number of features in and around the place of his death. Visitors can find the well, and the Peel of Lumphanan, a medieval motte surrounded by a moat, along with 'MacBeth's stone' believed to mark the site of his death, as well as "MacBeth's cairn". Latterly he has even been commemorated by a hotel, the MacBeth Arms (formerly the Lumphanan Hotel).

MacBeth's death at Lumphanan can, in retrospect, be seen as one of the turning-points in Scottish history. The gradual replacement of Celtic society by Anglo-Norman ways under MacBeth's successors had its origin in a violent clash of arms in the dark woods of Lumphanan.



■ What remains today of the two famous sites in the MacBeth story – Dunsinnan hill fort and an oak from Birnam Wood (below).



► propaganda soon after his death.

Fordun's *Chronicle* depicts him as a murderer and wicked tyrant who drove the sons of the popular and easy-going Duncan out of Scotland along with the loyal MacDuff, Thane of Fife, who was nowhere mentioned in earlier sources. Wyntoun, writing about 1420, greatly embroidered the legend but also preserved rival traditions which must have originated among MacBeth supporters.

It is Wyntoun who first relates the story of the three prophetic witches, who asserts that MacBeth was fathered by none other than the Devil who predicted that no man born of woman would have power to take his life, who wrote of the marching woods of Birnam and who recorded the battle of Dunsinnan.

He also noted, however, that Malcolm Canmore was the illegitimate son of Duncan by his "lewd" and low-born mistress, the

daughter of the miller of Forteviot.

The men of Moray remained a threat to the Scottish monarchy for some 200 years, an ample period for the growth of MacBeth's unflattering legend. Yet the best efforts of the chroniclers and later historians could not quite obliterate the liberal king of the prosperous seasons. That task would be left to the scribbler of Stratford whose literary genius ensured the virtual eclipse of history, but who paradoxically immortalised the man. ●

TIMELINE

1020

Death of Findlaech, father of MacBeth, who claimed the title King of Alba from Malcolm II.

1032

MacBeth possibly defeats Gillacomgain, Mormaer of Moray, claiming his title as well as marrying his widow Gruoch – the real Lady Macbeth.

1034

The death of Malcolm II reignites the dispute over the kingship of Alba. His grandson Duncan I starts his reign.

1040

The failures of Duncan I's reign ends with his 'supporters' murdering him. MacBeth becomes King of Alba.

1050

MacBeth leaves Scotland to go on pilgrimage to Rome.

1057

MacBeth's last stand at Lumphanan, in Aberdeenshire. Where 'Malcolm cut him off with a cruel death'. MacBeth is then buried on Iona.

1058

The men of Moray declare Lulach, MacBeth's stepson, as King of Alba. Known later as the 'Simpleton', he was slain at Essie, near Rhynie, by Malcolm – who becomes King of Alba.

1380

Moray remains a problem for the kings of Scotland for 200 years. Scottish chronicler John of Fordun first depicts Macbeth as a murderer and a tyrant.

1606

First performance of Shakespeare's 'MacBeth' that immortalises his image as a usurper and tyrant.

Light at the end of the Dark Ages tunnel

They may have been sandwiched between the Dark and the Renaissance periods, but the Middle Ages were surprisingly dynamic. We offer a rough guide to a vital moment in time

The Middle Ages is the old term for the period in Scotland that roughly stretches from 1050 to 1460. The name implies it lies between two other ages, the Dark and the Renaissance. Earlier historians regarded the Dark Ages as barbaric and the Renaissance as the great rediscovery of classical civilisation. So they named the time between as simply the Middle Ages.

Today's historians reject the idea of Dark Age barbarity. The Middle Ages are now called the Medieval period and seen as developing out of the culture of the early Medieval Scotland.

'Middle Ages' also seem to imply that little changed in the period. This is not true. Medieval Scotland was a dynamic place where patterns of society radically altered in keeping with changes across Europe. In Scotland the catalysts included the great state-building kings like David I, who expanded the kingdom and brought the king's justice to the land.

To maintain control, the kingship needed a written culture of ledgers and charters which in turn required a bureaucratic civil service staffed from the Church.

Kingship changed in other ways. Primogeniture, the idea that the son inherits the father's title, was introduced. Scotland got its first child king, Malcolm IV, in 1153 but it was also stable enough to have a government that

continued without a warlord driving it.

Was Scotland conquered by the Normans?

Despite the drama of 1066, there was no Norman Conquest of Scotland. So our land has very different experience from our southern neighbours. The Normans first appear in Scottish history before their conquest of England. A significant contingent of Normans fought with MacBeth in 1054. And after conquering England, their influence spread to the Scottish kings who started to adopt Norman fashions and manners.

It wasn't until the reign of David I (1124-53) that Normans were invited to settle in Scotland in any significant numbers. They had a huge impact on how the kingdom was run, though their influence shouldn't be over-emphasised.

David mainly encouraged Norman settlement in Scotland's south. North of the Forth-Clyde line in the old Gaelic Kingdom of Alba he compromised with the local Gaelic nobility who gradually adopted the new manners and fashions. A hybrid kingdom developed that introduced Norman innovations but mixed them with traditional customs. But none of the incoming Normans was given a noble title without marrying into the already established Gaelic nobility. What David did do was transform Scotland into a model much more in keeping with the European mainstream than anything that had gone before.

The Monastic revolution

The mid-11th century saw spiritual reform of the Church and society. The new monastic orders were introduced – Benedictines, Augustinians and Cistercians. They established obvious signs of the church's growing influence... great cathedrals and abbeys built across Scotland and the huge estates they controlled. This was an era of religious enthusiasm. Pilgrimage became popular and crusades were launched to the Holy Land.

The Three Estates

The Medieval Period was a time of ordered hierarchies. The divine order of God, his angels and the saints, was reflected in the secular order on earth. The first estate, those who fought, were the king, his nobles, and knights. Next came the Church, the second estate, those who prayed:



- NORWEGIAN TERRITORY
- KINGDOM OF THE SCOTS
- CUMBRIA, HELD BY THE SCOTS 1018-1092 AND 1136-1157
- EARLDOM OF NORTHUMBERLAND HELD BY THE SCOTS 1139-57
- ENGLAND

the Pope, his bishops and priests. The third estate was those who worked – peasants who formed most of the population.

When did Alba become Scotland?

The Kingdom of Alba, created by Constantine II, grew to dominate the surrounding kingdoms in what is now Scotland. Later kings of Alba expanded their frontiers to take in Strathclyde, the Lothians, Caithness, Galloway, Cumbria, and even Northumberland. The kingdom of Alba changed its name to Scotia in the 11th century.

That name applied solely to Alba and didn't cover the full extent of the territories that the King of Scots controlled. Gradually, the name Scotia, or Scotland, gained currency for the full extent of the kingdom as large cultural changes took place. The languages of the Britons and Picts disappeared. Gaelic dominated the north, and Scots developed out of the Angles' language in the south. Slowly, under the influence of one king and one church, the differing peoples of Scotland began to think of themselves as Scots in the 13th century. The Scottish nation was born. ●



■ Gargoyles came with great Medieval buildings.

Hardly a marriage made in Heaven

When saintly Margaret was forced into wedlock with warlord Malcolm Canmore, the culture shock was severe. But while she refined him, she chose not to stop him carrying sword and fire down into England

On November 16, 1093, a woman lay dying in windswept Edinburgh, her body worn out after nearly 30 years of pious fasting and the rigours of eight pregnancies. This was Margaret, Queen of Scots – wife of King Malcolm III, foundress of a royal dynasty which ruled for two centuries, and initiator of a profound cultural and religious revolution in the life of Scotland.

Seventy miles to the south-east, her husband and elder sons were carrying war into England. Then her blood-spattered and exhausted son, Edgar, brought chilling news to her bedside. Her husband and her beloved eldest son, Edward, had perished in the rain-churned mud of Northumberland just three days before. Within hours Margaret, too, was dead, ending a remarkable life which had changed for ever the face of Scotland.

The story began in the stormy summer of 1067, when Malcolm III – called Canmore from the Gaelic *Ceann Mor*, meaning great chief – was at Dunfermline. He was told of the grounding ►



■ The unlikely couple: Malcolm Canmore was always aggressive

ried - Margaret October 10
 've put an' son of Edward
 of England and was
 at Dunfermline



and ambitious – but pious, peace-loving Margaret lived a daily routine as strict as a nun's.

◀ of a ship on the Fife shore. More interesting to the king was what the ship contained – refugees from England, fleeing the Norman conquerors

However, these were no ordinary refugees, for they were led by Edgar the Atheling, heir to the English throne, his German Hungarian mother, Agatha, and his sisters, Margaret and Christina

Two years later Malcolm's wife Ingibjorg died, and he saw it as a heaven-sent opportunity to realise his ambitions of expanding his kingdom south of the Tweed. If the refugees wanted his aid to restore them to their rights in England, they must meet his terms – marriage to one of Edgar's sisters.

It might not have seemed a great price to pay, but for Edgar's family it was a bitter humiliation and a sharp reminder of their refugee status. As members of one of Europe's greatest families and with the blood of emperors flowing in their veins, the princesses could have expected marriages to match their station. But Scotland was, to them, a poor, semi barbaric backwater on the fringes of civilisation, ruled by a rough warrior-king who had been their family's vassal. It also forced an agonising personal decision, for both Margaret and Christina were devout Christians who wished to become nuns

For Malcolm it was a rich prize, bringing recognition as an equal from a family to whom he was indebted – Edgar's great uncle, Edward the Confessor, provided Malcolm with sanctuary in England when he was a refugee fleeing from the victorious MacBeth – and whom he had been forced to recognise as his overlords in return for support to win back his father's lost throne. It also provided Malcolm with a stake in the success of the exiles, for through his wife, should Edgar die childless, he and their children would inherit claims to the crown of England. With all this in mind, Edgar agreed that Malcolm should have his elder sister, Margaret, as his bride

For Margaret, her marriage to Malcolm in the simple stone church at Dunfermline was a dark day which underscored so much that she found distasteful about this dismal northern kingdom. A record of her life, written in the 1100s by her chaplain, Turgot, allows us to see Scotland through Margaret's eyes

The church service jarred with her personal beliefs. The building was a crude, bare place, unfit for the proper glorification of God. Her husband and his nobles were uncouth and uncultured, dressed in outlandish fashions, rough and drab beside the fine, coloured silks and linens of the refugees. Her new home lacked the sophisticated furnishings and lavish ceremonial of the royal courts in which she had grown up, indeed, it seemed little better than a peasant's hovel. And her husband, a ruthless, devious warrior, lacked any sense of the proper dignity of kingship. The marriage may not have been a love-match, but once reconciled to it, Margaret and Malcolm forged a partnership which sought to refashion this harsh and homespun kingdom

At the root of everything Margaret did lay her religion. She had been born and brought up in Hungary, where her father lived in exile, a land recently converted to Christianity, where the Faith burned with a freshness and intensity which moulded her life.

Denied her vocation to enter a convent, ►

Margaret's spirit lives on in the old capital

Dunfermline – 'the fortified tower on the winding stream' – is more than 1,000 years old and often referred to as the ancient capital of Scotland.

Not without reason. Part of the Kingdom of the Picts, it was a favourite stronghold of King Malcolm Canmore when he married the saintly Margaret in 1070, the small settlement acquired an international aspect.

Under her benign influence, the new European monastic Order of St Benedict was introduced and a priory established.

After her death, her pious son King David built a great Benedictine abbey on the site of her little church, and in 1250 when she was proclaimed a saint – Dunfermline became one of the major pilgrimage centres of Europe.

The abbey's old administrative headquarters – the restored Abbey pictured below – survives today as a visitor centre where one can see the skillfully-recreated long-lost head shrine of St Margaret, displayed in the building's historically-rich interior.

It can be visited 363 days a year, from 10am to 5pm. Tel: 01383 733266.



■ Malcolm Canmore and Margaret: as depicted in an image from the 15th century Scotichronicon.

► Margaret instead adopted a daily routine as severe as any nun's, which revolved around fasting and prayer, self-denial and works of charity. She led by example and, awed by her displays of piety and humility, even her worldly husband joined in her charitable works, washing and clothing the poor and serving them with food from his own hands. Churches, too, benefited, with Malcolm and Margaret commissioning magnificent jewelled crosses for the monasteries at Dunfermline and St Andrews, and the Queen and her ladies embroidering rich silken cloths for the altars and vestments for the priests.

But personal piety was not enough, for in Hungary Margaret had also encountered the dynamic continental Church and the reformed orders of monks whose prayers and masses carried directly to the ears of God. Their purity, simplicity and conviction persuaded Margaret that they offered the path to salvation.

For the sake of the souls of Malcolm, herself, her children – into whom due reverence for God was thrashed – and their people, it was essential that Scotland embrace this reinvigorated Church.

Although Scotland was an ancient Christian kingdom and looked to Rome for spiritual leadership, it was remote and its religious practices had fallen out of step with reforms elsewhere. Margaret saw it as her duty to end this divergence and presided in person over an assembly of the kingdom's clergy which agreed to implement some of the reforms. But she needed help in her task and, with Malcolm's approval, wrote to Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury, requesting that he send her some of the new style monks who could lead the reformist cause by example. In response, Lanfranc sent three

Benedictine monks as the founding community of a priory at Dunfermline. It was a small beginning, but it was the germ of a spiritual revolution which swept Scotland in the 12th century.

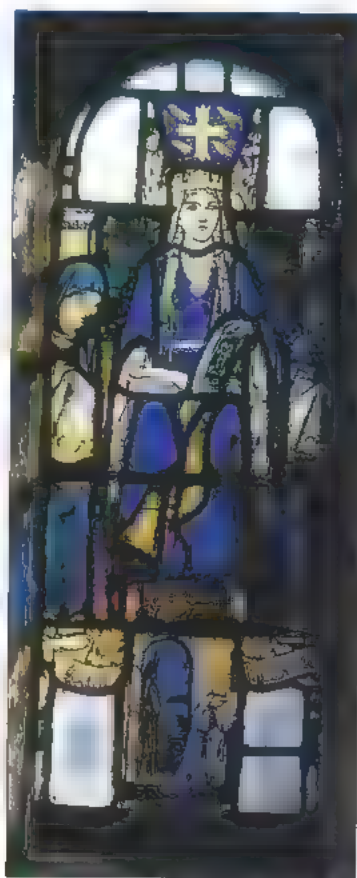
Margaret's influence over Malcolm also brought a transformation of the royal court. Fine imported cloths and jewels replaced the coarse woollens and native adornments; silken hangings graced the walls; foreign wines and fine food served on gold and silver dishes provided an air of luxury in what had been a rough warrior's hall. Anglo-Saxon influence surrounded the king. His sons and daughters by Margaret all bore English or classical names rather than the traditional Gaelic forms of his ancestors. Exiled Anglo-Saxon lords and ladies gathered at the court, counselling



■ St Margaret's Chapel inside Edinburgh Castle.



■ Tynemouth Priory – where Malcolm found his final rest.



■ St Margaret's Chapel window.

the king and influencing the upbringing of his children. When Malcolm, dressed in foreign fashions, rode out with his retinue of English exiles, Gaelic lords muttered darkly behind them. The rapid pace of change had brought alienation among traditionalist nobles.

Malcolm had not set out to ride roughshod over Gaelic tradition. By embracing English culture, he hoped to make his family more acceptable in England and so ease the way to expand his kingdom to the south. But his transformation went only skin deep. At heart he was still the Gaelic warlord who had won his throne in battle and stamped his mastery on Scotland by the sword's edge. He could not, and did not, turn his back on his Gaelic people, for they provided him with the armies which could realise this ambition, but many among the noblemen believed his wars were being fought for the benefit of the landless exiles who had come with Margaret.

But war offered plunder and the Gaelic lords followed Malcolm into England in 1070, 1079 and 1091, carrying fire and sword through Northumbria. And for all Margaret's pious influence on him, churches and monasteries burned along with the towns and strongholds of northern England.

War was not without risk, for the Norman kings were swift to react and their power had gradually grown in northern England after 1068. In 1072 William the Conqueror reached Abernethy before Malcolm yielded. In 1080 the English reached Falkirk, and in 1091 Malcolm met and surrendered to William II in Lothian. Submission, though, brought gains as the power

of the English in the north was limited and diminished once their army disbanded. They did, however, take Malcolm's eldest son hostage but this was, the father of seven sons considered, a small price to pay.

To win stability on their northern frontier, the English gave Cumbria to Malcolm, taking in return oaths that he would become their vassal and keep the peace – oaths he had no intention of honouring.

Perjured and foresworn, it was once more in pursuit of conquest that he rode into England on his last, fatal expedition in November 1093.

Malcolm's death unleashed the backlash against the changes and reforms which he and Margaret had set in motion. In a whirlwind of resentment, the Scots turned against Malcolm's sons and their foreign hangers on, including the monks of Dunfermline, driving them into exile in England and taking instead as their king Malcolm's younger brother, Donald.

It was a doomed Gaelic reaction against a cultural revolution which could not be reversed. Restored to their kingdom with English aid, Margaret's sons, imbued with foreign culture, devoted to the Church their mother had venerated and backed by a tide of Anglo-Norman followers, carried through with vigour the process which their parents had begun.

Their devotion to her memory ensured the realisation of her dreams and, within 50 years, the distrusted foreigner had become a national icon, looked upon as a saint. Her virtue, faith and piety became the foundation of her veneration and the reported miracles at her tomb in Dunfermline brought her formal recognition in 1250 as St Margaret of Scotland. ●

TIMELINE

1058

Malcolm III is crowned king of Scots after killing both MacBeth and his heir, Lulach.

1065

Malcolm marries Ingibiorg, daughter of Earl Thorfinn of Orkney, ally of MacBeth, strengthening his position in the North and Moray.

1066

Norman invasion of England brings William I 'the Conqueror' to power.

1067

Edgar the Atheling, heir to the English throne, arrives in Scotland with his sister Margaret seeking refuge from Norman persecution.

1069

Ingibiorg dies after giving Malcolm two sons, Duncan II and Donald. Malcolm seizes chance to marry Edgar's sister Margaret, greatly strengthening his English connections.

1071

William the Conqueror retaliates against Malcolm's aggression, and at Abernethy forces Malcolm to acknowledge him as his overlord.

1093

Malcolm and his son Edward are killed during their attempted conquest of Northumbria. Grief-stricken, Margaret dies shortly after.

1100s

Margaret's 'confessor', Turgot, writes an account of Margaret's life, the first official biography of a Scottish monarch.

1250

After being considered a national icon for more than a century, she is finally given formal recognition as Saint Margaret of Scotland.

DID KNIGHTS

They were the shock troops of Medieval times. But it seems these elite mounted warriors were not as effective in Scotland as they were in the rest of Europe

One of the most enduring images of Medieval times is of the knight in shining armour. But this image owed more to romance than to reality. Instead of chivalrous deeds and rescuing damsels in distress, those early Scottish knights were more used to death and danger.

MacBeth had a force of Norman knights, who were all killed in battle against the Earl of Northumbria in 1054.

Both Duncan II and Edgar had English and French knights to help them gain the Scottish throne in the 1090s.

But it wasn't until the reign of King Alexander I in the early 1100s that there is firm evidence for a royal policy of establishing a Scottish force of knights, which laid the foundations for a feudal system of aristocratic land ownership that existed for centuries.

The 12th century saw a dramatic cultural upheaval in Scottish life. The country's kings, who were also large landowners in England, regarded themselves as part of an international Anglo-Norman elite.

The court of David I – Alexander's brother – was based at Carlisle, when the English border stretched between the Ribble and the Tyne.

From there he granted land to young men, of mainly Anglo-Norman and Flemish origin, in exchange for the service of one or more knights to fight in battles as part of the elite royal cavalry force.

These noblemen would also effectively police their own areas.

David's horsemen were heavily armoured but looked nothing like the men in the



REALLY SHINE?



King who dressed to kill

Alexander I was every inch the warlike Norman knight – as his royal seal shows. He regularly dressed in chain-mail and helmet with nose-guard, and charged into battle carrying a spear and triangular shield.

This is hardly surprising, because Alexander and his brother David had Norman-style upbringings, and owed allegiance to England's Anglo-Norman king, Henry I.

During this period, many Norman nobles were invited to settle in Scotland. They were given large estates and encouraged to build their traditional 'motte and bailey' castles. In return, they provided military service.

Royal seals were one of several innovations adopted in Scotland at this time – rushed in on a wave of Norman influence in which the trappings of royal government, dress and fashions were all affected.

more familiar suits of shining armour, glamourised by Hollywood in many films, who would arrive on battlefields centuries later.

The first Scottish knights were light and mobile by comparison. They wore hauberks – a coat of mail that had a hood to cover the head and extended down to the knees – and a large padded coat underneath.

Extra protection was given by a conical iron helmet with a nasal piece stretching down between the eyes. Two principal weapons would be carried – a spear gripped firmly between the arm and the body, and a double-edged sword for cutting strokes.

Knights would protect themselves with a triangular shield, which was often decorated by images of themselves going into battle.

By the 1170s, the establishment of a formal system of heraldry meant that opponents on battlefields could easily be identified by the design on their shields.

The most important item of a knight's equipment was, of course, his horse, a true thoroughbred far removed from the average farm animal.

It was capable of carrying an armoured knight

at a gallop, and by the 13th century was being fitted with its own protective armour and leather quilting as well.

Unfortunately no armour or weaponry from that period has survived, but we do know that the swords were usually imported from Germany.

There is no history of sword making in Scotland, but the hilts (handles) of the swords, helmets and plating are known to have been made locally, and the earliest evidence of this is the existence of a helmet maker in Perth in the 12th century.

It was an expensive business being a knight. It required years of training and the equipment was very costly. Perhaps that's why there were never more than a few hundred of them in Scotland at any one time.

But just how effective were the first Scottish knights? For a start, it's difficult to identify battles where their presence was crucial to a successful outcome.

At the Battle of Standard in 1138 David I's knights were kept in reserve as the Galwegian foot soldiers were routed in a disastrous attack during his invasion of England.

In 1263 King Haakon's Norwegian raiders were

thwarted by stone-throwing and axe-wielding Scottish foot soldiers. The only recorded contribution of the men on horseback was a charge into the Norwegian ranks by a single knight – an ill-advised move which ultimately cost him his life.

The knights' biggest humiliation came at the start of the Wars of Independence in 1296 when Edward I came north to wrest control of the Scottish throne from King John Balliol.

The Scots army were intercepted as they marched towards Dunbar to relieve a siege of its castle. The exchanges that followed involved mainly cavalry, and although they probably outnumbered their English counterparts, the lighter and less experienced Scottish knights were defeated after a futile charge.

Some were chased several miles from the battlefield while others sought refuge in the besieged castle. The knights had wasted a great chance for military glory. And in the years that followed, William Wallace and Robert the Bruce would base their successful campaigns around their foot soldiers.

On the field of conflict Scotland would in future favour mobility over heavy armour.

They came, they saw, they got homesick...

In the light of later history, you might consider Scots to be unlikely crusading comrades for Germans, Normans, Flemings and Englishmen. But one English knight praised them for their 'loyalty and friendship'. Whether crusading was worth the trouble was quite another matter



'You might have seen crowds of Scots, a people savage at home but unwarlike elsewhere, descend from their marshy lands – with bare legs, shaggy cloaks, their purse hanging from their shoulders. Their copious arms seemed ridiculous to us, but they offered faith and devotion as aid.'

This was how one Northern French writer described the Scottish warriors who travelled to take part in the First Crusade in 1095. The Pope had summoned Christendom to fight for the liberation of Jerusalem. The intention had been to recruit Frankish and Norman knights, but the

papal appeal had wider unforeseen repercussions, causing 'other peoples, not only from the mainland but from the isles of the sea and the dwellers in the furthest ocean' to set out for the Holy Land.

The Pope had not foreseen either that his summons would be crowned with spectacular short-term success, with the capture of Jerusalem and the establishment of a feudal kingdom, but would in the end result in two centuries of fruitless and destructive warfare, ending in failure and the collapse and loss of the Holy Land.

Throughout these 200 years, western armies were time and again recruited and shipped to the East in an increasingly desperate attempt to hold on to the Holy Places of Christendom. Although

French knights formed the mainstay of most of the crusader armies, participants from many other western nations took part as well. Prominent in the work of spreading news and recruiting were the Knights Templars and Hospitalers, who had several houses or 'preceptories' in Scotland, most notably at Temple, Torphichen and Maryculter.

Sadly, the presence of Scots was not always appreciated by their companions in arms. A ►

► Onward, Christian soldiers – urged into the fray by the believers who stayed at home. This illustration from the Chronicle of St Denis depicts a scene that was no doubt common all over Europe in Medieval times: monks sending off the crusaders.





■ Holy terror: Scots were among the marauding English and French armies as they terrorised the East. Here such a joint force is seen attacking a castle.

The Pope's idea that exploded



The launch of the crusades – whose impact still reverberates in our time – was a bold stroke of papal politics. But what were they all about?

In the late 11th century Pope Urban II found himself involved in the long-term power struggle, between the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire, for the leadership of Christendom. Urban had convened a peace council at Claremont when he came up with his momentous plan.

Calling the Holy Land the land of milk and honey, he announced a new way for knights to gain forgiveness for their sins in fighting other Christians. Rather than lay down their weapons, they were encouraged to fight a holy war to recover Jerusalem.

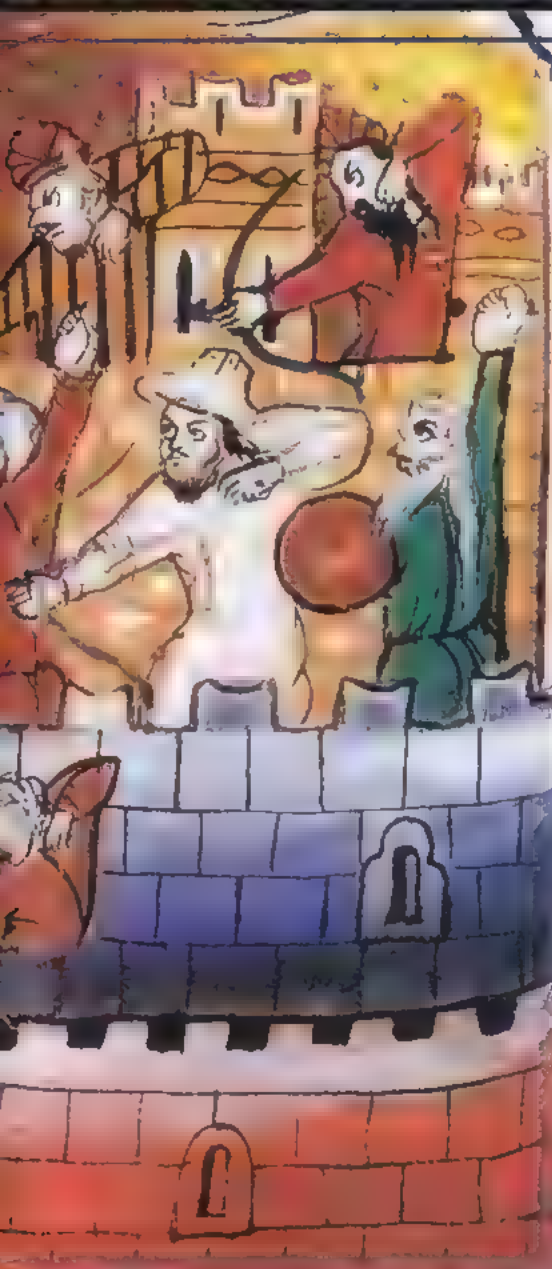
What Urban II launched wasn't a movement but an idea for a single campaign. Little did he know that the crusading would catch on and eventually be turned upon Muslims, Slavs, Christian heretics, Eastern European Christians and even papal enemies.

► Scottish contingent sailed in 1147 with a fleet of Normans, Germans, Flemings and Englishmen, and assisted the King of Portugal in the capture of Lisbon while en route for Palestine. One commander, faced with a threat of desertion by English knights, made a rousing speech praising the steadfast loyalty of the Normans and Germans, then shamed his hearers with an unflattering comparison: "Who would deny that the Scots are barbarians? Yet while in our company they have never broken the rules of loyalty and friendship."

The English were so embarrassed that they remained with the army until Lisbon fell, and so established an alliance between Britain and Portugal which has lasted unbroken for centuries.

Even the saintly King Louis IX of France, who encountered Scots during his great Crusade of 1248-54, was not impressed by them. Within a few years of his return to France, he was exhorting his son to win the love of his people, "for I would prefer that a Scot should come from Scotland and govern the people well and faithfully, than that you should be seen to govern them badly"

For those Scots who made the journey,



mused, while his ship was riding at anchor in the Adriatic

*Help from Cruachan is far off
Across the wave-bordered Mediterranean,
The journeying of spring separates us
From these green-branched glens*

This poet Muredhach D Laigh became known as 'Scottish Murray' and was the ancestor of the famous bardic family of MacVurich. It is said that when he came at last to the head of Loch Long in Argyll, he sat down with the words:

*As I sit upon the hillock of tears,
Without skin on either toe or sole
O King! Peter and Paul!
Far is Rome from Loch Long!*

A later writer commented of the Egyptian crusade: "A great multitude throughout the whole of Scotland took the cross, few of them, however, were from among the rich and powerful of the kingdom"

One who was 'rich and powerful' was Saher de Quincy, lord of Leuchars and Tranent in Scotland and Earl of Winchester in England. His father, Robert de Quincy, had been justiciar of Scotland and with Richard the Lionheart on the Third Crusade (1190-93), where he was entrusted with the command of a troop of knights guarding Antioch. It was probably he who built the fine Romanesque church at Leuchars in Fife, and who founded a hospital of canons of the Church of Bethlehem at St Germans near Tranent in East Lothian. Unlike his father, Saher de Quincy did not return to Scotland. He died in the crusader camp at Damietta shortly before the city fell in November 1219.

The Scottish contingent which joined the first crusade of Louis IX in 1248 was led by Earl Patrick of Dunbar, whose death at Marseilles was noted by writers in the Holy Land itself. Before his departure, his wife had taken the precaution of founding a hospital of Trinitarian brothers 'for the Redemption of Captives of the Infidel' at Dunbar. A number of Scottish knights and landowners are known to have been with him, and to have continued the journey to Palestine after his death.

The last of the great crusades was the second journey of Louis IX in 1270. A separate English contingent was led by Lord Edward who later, as Edward I, was known as 'the Hammer of the Scots'. But in these times, there were Scots among Lord Edward's company, as well as in the retinue of the King of France. Louis's army met disaster. It began the crusade with an assault on Tunis, which had to be abandoned when disease ravaged their camp. Among the dead were King Louis himself and the leader of the Scottish force, David, Earl of Atholl.

The Scots were thereafter led by Adam, Earl of Carrick, who died at Acre the following year. Present with him in Palestine in 1271-2 were Robert Bruce of Annandale and his son Robert Bruce (later Earl of Carrick), respectively grandfather and father of King Robert I.

A curious story surrounds the return of the younger Robert Bruce to Scotland in 1273. Soon after his return, he travelled to Carrick to visit Countess Marjorie, the widow of Earl Adam, ►

The Crusades and their aims

First Crusade, 1095-99: Fought over land, it aimed to capture Jerusalem and went well until the crusaders were besieged in Antioch. The miraculous discovery of the Holy Lance that pierced Christ's side inspired them to break the siege, march to take Jerusalem and found the Crusader State.

Second Crusade, 1147-49: On the way the Scots assisted in capturing Lisbon but the main crusade was a fiasco. The crusaders' strategy in attacking Damascus, the Crusader State's only ally, damaged their cause. Crusaders who had settled in the Holy Land ensured the campaign's failure by leading it into a desert. Survivors returned to ships and departed.

Third Crusade, 1189-92: Born in reaction to Saladin's retaking of Jerusalem in 1187, this was larger than previous crusades. Three of Europe's most powerful men led it – the Emperor of Germany and the kings of France and England. It failed to win back Jerusalem but secured Jaffa and Acre, propelling Richard the Lionheart into legend.

Fourth Crusade, 1202-4: Never reached the Holy Land, being diverted to conquer the Christian Empire of Constantinople.

Fifth Crusade, 1218-21: The aim was to break the Muslims' economic power by conquering Egypt. Crusaders besieged Damietta but a failure to predict Nile flooding led to disease setting in. The city is temporarily taken but the crusade ends.

St Louis's First Crusade, 1248-54: Aimed to recapture Damietta, it met with temporary success again – then defeat.

St Louis's Second Crusade, 1269-72: While Tunisia was under attack, the early death of St Louis in the crusaders' disease-ravaged camp led to the campaign being abandoned. With the loss of the Holy Land in 1291, the Crusades lost impetus.

however, it was the adventure of a lifetime. We know this from some rough records. A group of Orcadian crusaders boasted of their journey to Jerusalem in 1150 in runic graffiti cut into the walls of Maeshowe.

A group of Gaelic speaking crusaders from both sides of the Irish Sea preserved in verse a record of their anxieties, homesickness, and pride as they joined the Crusade against Egypt in 1218-21.

Four companions came by ship to Acre in Palestine in 1218, then via the mountainous southern coast of Cyprus to Egypt, where the crusaders were besieging the great city of Damietta in the Nile Delta:

*Lad who takes the helm.
Take care as you voyage
To steer the helm aright,
If the ship carry us off,
On what beach, lad, will it land?*

When the Christians evacuated Damietta in 1221, their ship brought the survivors to Monte Gargano in the Adriatic; from there they went to Rome, overland across Europe, and finally back to Scotland. One of them



■ The fine Romanesque church at Leuchars, Fife, was probably built by Richard the Lionheart's comrade, Robert de Quincy.

Force that fell on Jerusalem

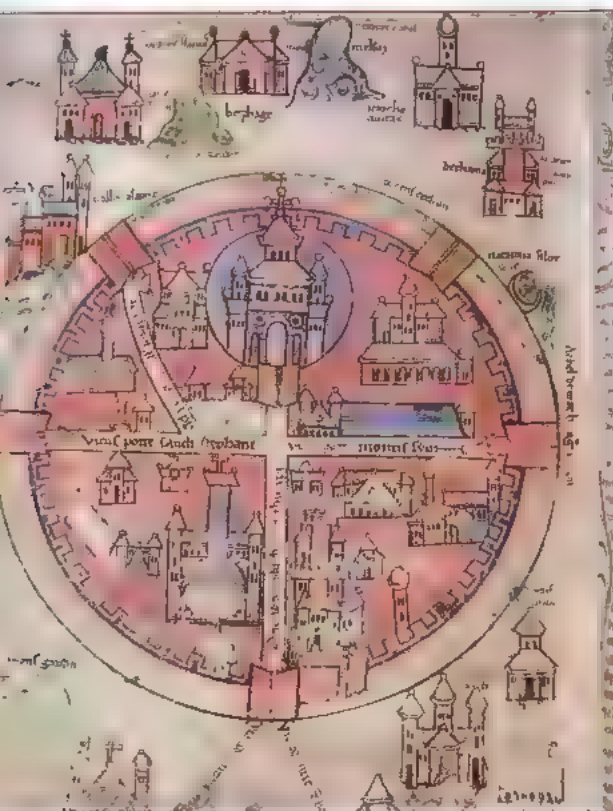
The goal of the First Crusade was Jerusalem, the centre of the Medieval world, the city where Christ had been crucified. After an expensive and arduous three-year campaign – through Anatolia, Syria and Palestine – the crusaders reached the city gates. They besieged the city and on July 15, 1099, the Muslim troops surrendered it in return for safe conduct out, leaving the citizens at the crusaders' mercy. A massacre of 10,000 people followed – recounted by William of Tyre in his chronicle.

"It was impossible to look upon the vast numbers of the slain without horror. Everywhere lay the fragments of human bodies, and the very ground was covered

with the blood of the slain. It was not only the spectacle of headless bodies and mutilated limbs strewn in all directions, still more dreadful was it to gaze on the victors themselves, dripping with blood from head to foot.

The soldiers roved the city in search of survivors hiding in portals and byways. They were dragged out into public view and slain like sheep. Often an individual marauder would break off and enter a house, first wiping out the family then claiming the home as his own.

At the entrance of each house, as it was taken, the attacker hung up his shield and arms – a sign to all who approached that the place had been 'possessed'.



Medieval map of Jerusalem – the recovery of which was the goal of the crusades.

down the centuries. While King Robert Bruce lay dying in 1329, he decreed that his heart should be carried on crusade against God's enemies and buried at the Holy Sepulchre.

The first part of his wish was fulfilled by his companion, Sir James Douglas, who died fighting against the Moors at the siege of Teba de Hardales in southern Spain in August 1331, but the second part was not, for the king's embalmed heart was brought back and buried in Melrose Abbey.

Scots knights were present at the storming of Alexandria in 1365, and a few Scots are later recorded fighting against the Moors in Spain and elsewhere in the Mediterranean, most notably with the Knights Hospitallers of Rhodes (Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, who died in 1480, was knighted at Rhodes).

Many Scots who wished to go on campaigns for Christendom in the later Middle Ages joined the forces of the Teutonic Knights fighting against heathen Lithuania, but a combination of the conversion of Lithuania to Christianity and the disastrous defeat of the Teutonic Knights at Tannenberg in 1410 effectively ended the Northern Crusade.

The appeal of Jerusalem and the concept of Christian unity for its recovery persisted for centuries after any realistic possibility had passed.

Even as Renaissance writers like Erasmus were condemning Christian warfare and Luther was agonising over justification by Faith, King James IV of Scotland was vainly appealing to the monarchs of Europe to set aside their territorial ambitions and unite in the face of the Turkish threat.

His failure led him to defeat and death at Flodden in 1513; rumours persisted after the battle that he had survived, badly wounded, and had gone to live as a hermit in the Holy Land. With James died the old crusading spirit in Scotland.

His companion who had died at Acre. Learning that she was now a widow, and much attracted to the young knight who had brought her the news, Marjorie compelled Robert to go with her to Turnberry Castle, where she imprisoned him until he would consent to become her husband. Clearly returning crusaders carried with them a certain sexual magnetism.

Although the Holy Land was finally lost less than 20 years later, the call to unite Christendom to fight for the recovery of Jerusalem continued to echo

TIMELINE

1095

Pope Urban II launches crusades to the Holy Land.

1147

Second Crusade. Scots assist king of Portugal in capturing Lisbon from Moors.

1190-93

Third Crusade. Robert de Quincy, justiciar of Scotland joins Richard the Lionheart leading knights at Antioch.

1218-21

Fifth Crusade. Saher de Quincey, Lord of Leuchars, dies as Gaelic crusaders participate in siege of Damietta in Egypt.

1248-54

Saintly King Louis IX of France is not impressed with Scots on crusade led by Earl Patrick of Dunbar.

1270

Robert Bruce's father and grandfather take part in last great crusade, led by St Louis.

1291

Fall of Acre leads to loss of Holy Land.





The pious peacemaker with a bloody sword

In many ways he was his mother's caring son. But under David's velvet glove was an iron fist

■ **Top:** David I (left) as the archetypal Medieval king. From Kelso Charter.

In the winter of 1093, seven royal fugitives fled south from Scotland, escaping the turmoil which followed the deaths of King Malcolm III and Queen Margaret. Led by their eldest brother, Edgar, the royal couple's remaining children sought refuge and support at the court of William Rufus, King of England, the man whose warriors had just slain their father and brother.

Backed by an army of Norman knights, the elder brothers soon returned to Scotland to wrest their father's throne from their uncle, while the youngest brother, David, a boy of little more than 10, remained in England with his sisters. There, in the words of one chronicler, he "rubbed off all the tarrush of his Scottish barbarity through being polished from his boyhood through contact and friendship with us". David was brought up as a

Norman. His youth passed in the obscurity of insignificance, but in 1100 his elder sister married the new king of England, Henry I, and the teenage David was catapulted to prominence as the brother of the queen.

Henry groomed his young brother-in-law, having him trained as a knight and given experience in law and administration. A quick learner, David soon entered Henry's service and rose rapidly to positions of honour and responsibility in royal government. Rewards soon followed. In 1107, Henry helped him win Strathclyde, the principality which sprawled across southern Scotland from the Highland fringe around Loch Lomond in the west to the Merse in the east – which had been bequeathed to him by his eldest brother, King Edgar, but ►

► which his remaining brother, the new King Alexander I, was withholding. Although now a ruler in his own right, David continued to serve Henry, and in 1114 was honoured by the king with marriage to Maud de Senlis, Countess of Northampton and great-niece of William the Conqueror. His future seemed to lie as an English earl, but fate intervened and in 1124 his last brother died childless. David was now King of Scots.

Few reigns have been so pivotal in the history of a country, but David's propelled Scotland kicking and screaming into the brave new world of the 12th century. He inherited a kingdom where the innovations begun by his parents were still only lightly bedded and the Gaelic culture and society of his ancestors was dominant.

He wholeheartedly embraced northern European civilisation and turned the tide decisively against Gaelic language and culture by surrounding himself with foreigners; knights, churchmen and administrators in a mainly English and Norman-French speaking court; dressing in foreign styles and encouraging his Gaelic nobles to do the same; importing monks from England and France to glorify God in the new monasteries which he founded; and encouraging foreign merchants and craftsmen to settle in the privileged new towns – the burghs which he established. Here, rough Scottish goods such as wool or hides could be traded for imported luxuries, like wine, spices, exotic fruits,



■ So far north... but Duffus Castle, near Elgin, is a classic motte and bailey Norman building of the type that David's followers would have built.

fine cloth, rich metalwork, and refined pottery. David was not just a king, he was a state-builder. His long apprenticeship in England had served him well, providing him with experience in government and statecraft; familiarity with the techniques of Anglo-Norman kingship; a taste and preference for Continental Frankish culture; and above all the contacts and friendships to allow him to turn his dreams into a reality.

At Henry's court he had rubbed shoulders with the young Anglo-Norman lords, the ambitious pushers and shovers striving against each other to win fame and fortune through royal service, while as an earl he had built up his own following of land-hungry dependants. These men provided him with the close circle of followers who would help him to lay new foundations for royal power in Scotland.

But he was also his mother's son, inheriting from her an intense piety and devotion to the Church, and a determination to carry through the reforms which she and his brothers had left unfinished. Inspired by men such as the saintly Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the austere piety of St Bernard of Tiron, David unleashed on his kingdom the full force of the European spiritual revolution.

New personnel and religion alone, however, could not reshape Scotland, and David tapped into the economic boom which was sweeping Europe at that time. Trade opened Scotland's

The complex brotherly battle over the Scottish crown

The most striking feature about David I's many brothers is the extent to which they are intertwined in a lengthy and complex battle over the Scottish crown.

David I, the youngest son of Malcolm and Margaret, had seven brothers and sisters: Edward, Edmund, Ethelred, Edgar, Alexander, Matilda and Mary. And he had two half-brothers from his father's first marriage – Duncan and Donald.

David's oldest brother Edward was killed with his father in 1093. A year later, his eldest half-brother, Duncan, took the throne from Malcolm III's successor and David's uncle, Donald Bane.

But Duncan II reigned for only a few uneasy months until he was himself killed by an alliance of the vengeful Donald Bane and

David's brother Edmund. The latter continued as Donald Bane's protege until they were both removed from power in 1097 by another brother, Edgar.

After banishing Edmund to a monastery, Edgar managed to stay on the throne until 1107. He remained a client of William II of England, who had given him and his younger brothers and sisters shelter and supplied troops to defeat Donald Bane and Edmund.

Edgar was not watchful of his northern territories and managed to lose a huge seaboard area to the Vikings. After William II's death, Edgar became a dependant of England's Henry I.

Edgar was succeeded peacefully by his brother Alexander I, who reigned from 1107 to 1124. Despite the

length of his reign, Alexander never had control of Strathclyde and much of Lothian, and he died without legitimate children, leaving the throne to David.

As the others battled over the succession, Ethelred and David's other half-brother, Donald, played their parts without ever taking the centre-stage. Meanwhile David's sisters, Matilda and Mary, were left the task of ensuring the royal marriages they were pushed into worked to advance the power of their male siblings.

■ Below: the seal of King Alexander I, who reigned for 17 years and died without issue, leaving the throne to his brother David.





■ The abbey that David founded in Jedburgh – for Augustinian monks with a taste for learning.

doors to foreign influence, widened narrow horizons, and triggered unprecedented growth in the social state of the kingdom. To facilitate trade, David encouraged colonists to settle in his new towns, armed with monopoly rights over Scotland's foreign trade, but above all, he created Scotland's first native coinage.

His court became the pounding heart of Scotland, transformed from the warrior's hall of his forebears into a dynamic centre of government and administration – the focus of the cultural life of his kingdom, and the nerve centre for its social, political and religious transformation.

David used the connections forged during his years in England to encourage ambitious young Anglo-Norman knights to come north, offering them land and office. In return for their loyalty and service, he granted them lordships in southern Scotland, carving up the landscape into a patchwork of new estates: Lauderdale for Hugh de Morville, his constable; Eskdale for the Avenels; Liddesdale for the de Soulis; Annandale for Robert de Brus; and Renfrew for his steward, Walter fitz Alan, ancestor of the Stewarts.

Aided by these incomers, David turned his court from simply the residence of the king into the seat of royal government modelled on the English court of his youth. He was determined to be more than a mere warlord in the mould of his predecessors, a remote figure who rarely had any significant impact on the lives of his subjects. To govern, David needed to know the extent of his powers, his authority and rights, and he had to establish firm peace throughout the land and ensure that his laws were obeyed everywhere.

To do that, he needed records – written evidence of his past acts and decrees; details of the income and expenditure of his household; legal records of grants of land and office made to

his followers and his many gifts to the Church, copies of correspondence with foreign rulers and churchmen; and instructions to his servants everywhere around the country.

Parchment revolutionised royal government, with David's clerks, priests who served as his personal chaplains, forming the basis of an educated bureaucracy. At the head of this administration, David created the post of chancellor. Normally a churchman, highly-educated and literate, the chancellor also served as the king's legal expert, helping him to frame new laws and interpret existing codes. Alongside him was the chamberlain, the financial officer, followed by other more functional posts, such as butler, held by Ranulf de Soulis, or steward.

Amid all the innovation, little survived of the Gaelic household of his ancestors other than minor officials like Alfwyn mac Archu, 'divider of the meat'. David's new nobles were not just there to be decorative, it was their duty to give him counsel and advice; and for discussion of great matters of state he summoned not only his officers and friends but also the native earls and lords to meetings of his council. Thus he sought to include the Gaelic nobility in his top-down reconstruction of Scottish society.

But David was not simply some unapproachable figure, the hub of a glittering aristocratic court. He saw himself as the father of his people, accessible to all who needed his protection or aid. He took his kingly duties seriously, even once abandoning his passion for hunting when, quite literally at the door of his hall and with his foot in the stirrup, a poor supplicant requested an audience. Law and justice was not simply for the rich, and David would sit outside his hall to do right by all-comers.

Alongside the physical reconstruction of ►

Two ways of seeing the man who would be a gentle king

The image of David, that has come down to us from later Scottish chroniclers is one of an exemplar of Medieval kingship. But contemporary opinion seems to have been divided.

Ailred of Rievaulx, one of David's personal acquaintances, admired David and wrote a glowing literary tribute to the man on his death. He reports the king as having had a 'firm but fair' attitude to the dispensing of justice:

"It was his custom, besides, to sit by the door of the royal hall and to listen attentively to cases of poor people and old women, who were summoned on certain days from wherever they came from, and to strive hard to give satisfaction to each one. For often they argued with him and he with them, when he refused to accept the legal standing of a poor person contrary to justice, and when they refused to give accent to the reasoned argument which he demonstrated to them."

The churchman's enthusiasm for David I was by no means widely shared, however.

Those on the sharp end of his actions – the men of Moray and Northern England – may have held differing perspectives.

One brief Gaelic poem dating from around 1113 clearly shows a lowland bard siding with the Gaelic lords who lost out in David's seizure of Lothians from his brother Alexander I, the King of Alba.

He then goes on to chastise all the sons of Malcolm Canmore who had striven for the kingship as not really helping the situation:

*It's bad, what Malcolm's son has done,
Dividing us from Alexander;
He causes, like each king's son before,
The plunder of Stable Alba.*



■ **Rugged, ruined, but still handsome:** if he lived today, David might still recognise Kelso Abbey as he (almost) knew it.

► his kingdom, David pushed on with the religious policy of his parents. His court became the focus for a spiritual revolution, where the king, aided by men such as his former chaplain and tutor John – whom he had made Bishop of Glasgow – planned the spiritual regeneration of his kingdom.

Men outstanding for their religious zeal, education and administrative skills were hand-picked by the king to be his bishops, to form the spearhead of the religious revival of his kingdom and to begin the complete reconstruction of its organisation along Continental lines.

But for the deeply pious David something more radical was needed. He wished to bring to Scotland the radical new reformed orders of monks who were pioneering the evangelical reinvigoration of the Church, whose prayers and masses ensured salvation. With John's encouragement and assistance, monks from the austere order of Tiron had been brought to Scotland and established at Kelso. Dunfermline was refounded and enlarged; Augustinians, famed for their hospitality and learning, established at Jedburgh, Holyrood and Cambuskenneth. But his greatest achievement was the introduction of the Cistercians, the most austere yet of the orders of monks, who were believed to possess a spiritual 'hot line' to God.

Before David's death, off-shoots had spread from their first Scottish abbey at Melrose throughout Scotland from Moray to Cumbria. Pioneering centres of agriculture and industry as

Whose line was it anyway?

It has been the subject of many a tussle over the centuries. But if some moves had stuck, Scotland would have been a deal larger

For almost 100 years during the 11th and 12th centuries, Scotland expanded its southern border into England's northern territory.

In 1018, the border stood on a line between Gretna and Berwick-upon-Tweed. That year, at Carham, Malcolm II successfully annexed Cumbria – an expansion that promised much in terms of what Scotland could gain territorially.

The MacAlpin dynasty failed to capitalise on their success by expanding further, although they kept hold of all Cumbria until 1092 – a vital achievement since it marked the firm delineation of a Southern frontier along the line of the Tweed.

Although the kings of Scots

attempted to expand south between 1093 and 1124 they met with little success. Territorial advancement took off again under David I. As northern lieutenant of the English King Henry I, David already possessed lands in southern Scotland by the time he became king in 1124.

David I was able to turn his established strong position in the border region to his advantage, acquiring Cumbria in 1136. Cumberland, North Westmorland and Northumberland were brought under his control in 1141 as David skilfully expanded his southern frontier.

But David's reign also had its spectacular disasters. His

attempt to consolidate his strength in Northumberland by leading an invasion force deep into England's southern Northumbrian territory in 1138 resulted in disaster.

The Battle of the Standard, as it came to be known, saw one of the largest invasion forces ever mustered in Scotland receive a crushing defeat.

Despite losing the battle, David still gained the earldom of Northumberland, taking the frontier to the River Tees.

The successional crisis provoked by David's death in 1153, however, contributed to a critical weakening of the Scots southern frontier.

Although by 1157 the border had been driven back up to the

For those on the receiving end of his wrath, David was devious, vengeful and ruthless

well as powerhouses of prayer, David's monasteries triggered an unprecedented shake-up of Scotland's underdeveloped and conservative rural economy.

On account of his achievement and above all for his devotion and generosity to the Church, David was, to some men, a living saint. But the image of the Solomon-like king, a new biblical David, cultured, benevolent and peaceful, is just one side of the coin. For those who were on the receiving end of his wrath, he was devious, vengeful and ruthless. The young nobles of David's court and the colonists to whom he gave

land were not just administrators, they were knights, the steel-clad cutting edge of a devastating new war machine.

From the first, David used these men to stamp out any challenge to his rule, unleashing them in 1124 and 1130 on rivals for his throne, crushing opposition to his power in Argyll and Moray, and cowing the fiercely independent men of Galloway. They won for him, too, new territories in northern England, carving Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmorland and Durham from a kingdom wracked by civil war.

David understood well the use of terror as a weapon, releasing the savage Galwegians in an unrestrained orgy of violence, destruction and looting upon the people of Northumberland and Durham. In scenes familiar to us all from Bosnia or Kosovo, lines of naked captives, bound and beaten, were driven northwards to a life of slavery, leaving behind a landscape of burning villages and gutted churches, picked clean of booty and with livestock which could not be carried off left slaughtered in the fields.

Only once all opposition was crushed did David extend the peace and stability of his kingdom to these ravaged lands, his firm government allowing them to recover their prosperity. And it was in these conquered lands, at Carlisle, that David held court and ruled over a kingdom which stretched from Caithness to the Tees.

Although king of Gaelic Scotland and determined to be no less successful in the North and West than his father and brothers, David always felt more at home in the English lands south of the Forth.

It was there that he based his government, and in so doing changed the political and cultural balance of his kingdom. His creation was the Scotland we know today. ●

TIMELINE

1093

David I and his family are taken to the court of King William Rufus of England following the death of their parents.

1100

The teenage David is catapulted to prominence in England as 'the brother of the queen' when Henry I marries his sister.

1107

David wins the principality of Strathclyde with help of Henry.

1114

Henry grants David marriage to Maud de Senlis, great-niece of William the Conqueror.

1124

After his brother Alexander I dies childless, David becomes King of Scots and begins to remodel Scottish government along Anglo-Norman lines.

1124-30

David twice unleashes his new war-machine, the knights, to stamp out challenges to his authority. Opponents in Scotland are crushed and new territories won from England.

1128

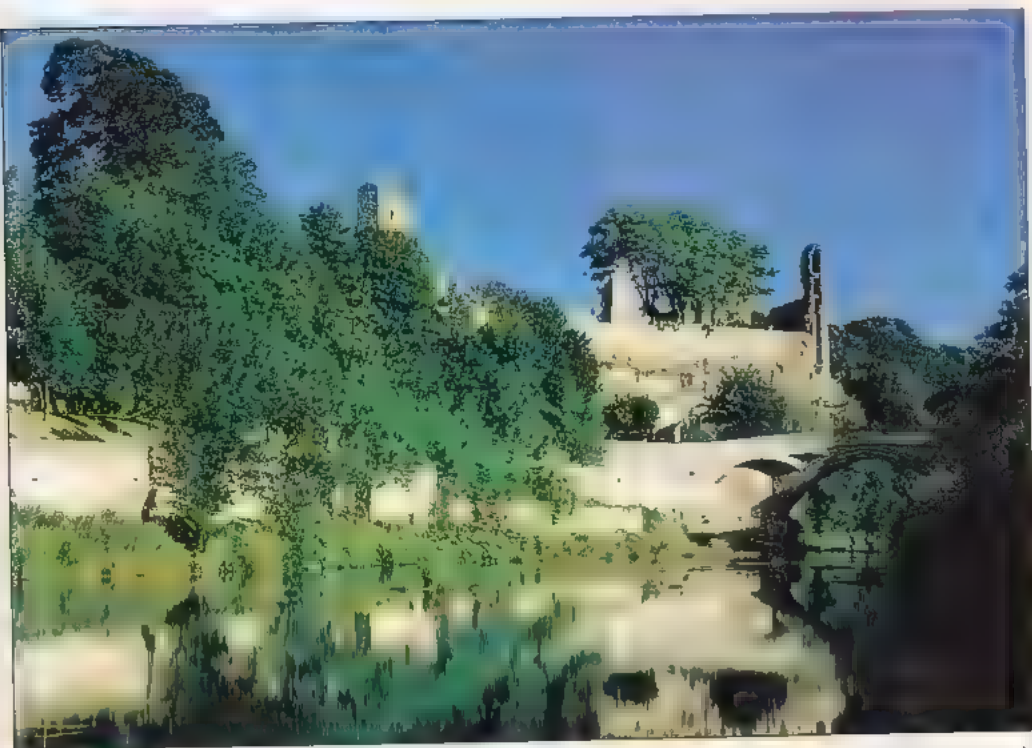
David buys his place in heaven with grants and patronage to religious orders such as the Benedictines at Dunfermline, elevating the settlement's status to an abbey.

1138

David brings subjects together to invade England. They are defeated at the Battle of the Standard south of the River Tees. But David still gains control of Northumberland.

1153

David dies at Carlisle, his enduring legacy being a progressive weakening of Scotland's Gaelic language and culture.



■ The River Tees (with Barnard Castle) was once Scotland's most southern point, thanks to David.

The trading giant with seedy roots

When he found the Oriental shipping trade did not make enough cash, James Matheson established an import-export company that smuggled opium into China – and made him rich if not respectable

On the gateposts of Ardross Castle, a Victorian pile near Dingwall, are heraldic carvings of an unexpected, almost unbelievable, kind. Griffins are shown holding the heads of opium poppies. Here, without shame, the nephew of James Matheson – who built the castle – celebrated the scandalous source of the family's fortune.

Why so scandalous? It came from smuggling opium into China in the 19th century.

Like many former lawbreaking organisations, the company called Jardine Matheson & Co has long since 'gone legit', and became a powerful commercial player in Hong Kong during later generations.

James Matheson, its co-founder, was born in Lairg, Sutherland, in 1796 and went to India as a young man – one of many Scots who took daring steps in search of opportunities in the days of the Empire.

At first, he operated in the Oriental shipping trade, but he moved to Canton where he set up in business with another Scot, William Jardine from Dumfriesshire – formerly a surgeon with the East India Company.

The two partners took over a merchant house and began operating as importers and exporters. But soon they found that their most lucrative business was importing opium for the sad and helpless addicts who frequented the country's numerous seedy dens.

This was such a social evil that Chinese officials had banned imports of the drug, which was widely produced in India. But the East India Company used opium sales in China to finance buying China tea, and hired small operators like Jardine Matheson & Co to smuggle it in.

Eventually the evil trade became the biggest commercial operation of any kind in the region, and brought Matheson huge profits. As Chinese policing became stricter, Jardine Matheson operated from offshore hulks and from islands such as Hong Kong. To protect these interests, British troops were

■ **Towering high in Hong Kong, the Jardine Matheson building projects an air of long-established commercial confidence.**



■ **James Matheson: used drugs profits to buy the island of Lewis.**

brought in to fight the Opium Wars and the Chinese were forced to give the drug-dealers trading concessions.

With the partners now wealthy men, Jardine went to London to advise the Government on Far Eastern developments. Matheson stayed on as Taipan until 1842, when he returned to Scotland and bought the entire island of Lewis. With their drug money, the family built Stornoway Castle and a Disney-like sporting lodge at Ulig.

Turning benefactor, Matheson spent huge sums on road-building and on seed to protect his tenants against the potato famine. One plan that flopped was the audacious attempt to strip the island of its peat and open the land for farming.

Matheson died in 1898, a lad o' pairts who won't be remembered with universal affection.



He made Cook's tour but didn't get invited

Alexander Dalrymple

Everyone has heard of Captain James Cook, the great English explorer of the Pacific who 'discovered' the east coast of Australia and New Zealand and claimed them for the British crown. Fewer, though, will have heard of Alexander Dalrymple, the Scots navigator and hydrographer who made these discoveries possible.

In fact, it was Dalrymple's unshakeable belief in the existence of a great southern continent and his research into it that led the British Admiralty to mount an expedition in 1768.

Cook, a naval officer, was appointed to command the ship *Endeavour*. Dalrymple had wanted to lead this voyage but despite his superior knowledge of the region and his fine track record in charting unknown coasts, he was passed over because he was a civilian.

Cook took with him Dalrymple's maps and information analysed data from the voyages of Spanish and Portuguese explorers who had been seeking the fabled southern continent for about 60 years and which Dalrymple published as 'An Account of the Discoveries made in the South Pacific Ocean previous to 1764'.

With territorial expansion in mind, the Admiralty pointed Cook in the right direction and his three long voyages of exploration guaranteed him a place in the history books.

Dalrymple, meanwhile, swallowed his disappointment, helped compile reports of Cook's discoveries, and remained a relatively obscure figure in this great age of global quest.

Dalrymple's ground-breaking work as a map maker has rarely been equalled. In his time, the South Pacific coasts and myriad islands were still areas of mystery. From accurate measurements and observations he drew up several thousand charts and it has been said that through these he may have saved more lives than anyone else of his generation.

It was through Dalrymple's research that Britain established important bases in Penang and Singapore.

Born in Edinburgh in 1737, one of 16 children of a



■ Dalrymple was bitterly disappointed at missing the trip.

well-connected family of diplomats, soldiers and judges, Dalrymple joined the East India Company where he negotiated trading agreements with various rulers in the Pacific area and explored the waters around Borneo and New Guinea. He had the reputation of being a perfectionist but also of an extremely irascible leader.

In 1779 he became the company's first official hydrographer and in 1795 was appointed chart maker to the Navy.

As a member of the Royal Society and a friend of Adam Smith, Andrew Dalrymple was not without influential supporters. But despite his achievements, his rejection in favour of the now-famous Captain Cook left him a bitterly disappointed man.

Kate's sacrifice for her king

Katherine Douglas

Outside the oaken door there are hoarse whispers and the muffled ringing of steel. Armed men have gathered and danger is in the air. The heavy shaft which should bar the door is missing and a quick-thinking young woman thrusts her arm through the slots where the shaft should be – to hold off the intruders as long as possible.

This cameo of selfless heroism is a favourite legend of Scottish history, but did it ever happen?

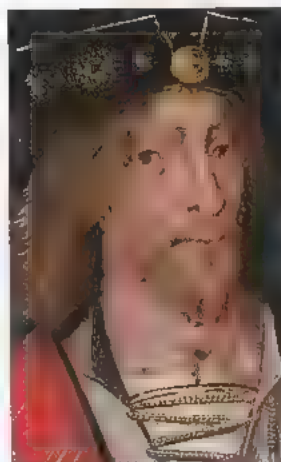
It has been attributed to Flora MacDonald, protecting Prince Charles Edward Stewart from discovery by English soldiers on Skye, but that is certainly untrue. Wrong heroine, wrong century.

The most likely association is with a woman called Katherine Douglas, a lady in waiting at the court of James I in 1437. At that time the king

was popular with the common people but not with many of his nobles. There had been years of heavy taxation and reckless spending on foreign luxuries for the royal household.

One powerful noble called Sir Robert Graham had criticised the king in Parliament and was sent into exile.

So when the Master of Atholl plotted to kill the king, Graham was



■ James I: Kate Barlass tried to defend him.

ready to join him. After midnight, the plotters converged on the Blackfriars monastery in Perth, where James, Queen Joan and several ladies of the court were staying.

A conspirator inside the building had broken the locks and laid planks over the ditch surrounding the garden. Once inside, the group of nine men first killed a page, who is thought to have shouted 'Treason!' before he died.

This was heard from the royal chamber by Katherine Douglas, who then saw that the door bar had been removed. She thrust her arm through the slots and suffered cruel injury as the plotters burst in. Thus she earned the admiring nickname of Kate Barlass.

James had enough time to prise up some floorboards with fire tongs and drop into a narrow sewer. But he was trapped there, discovered and dispatched with at least 16 sword wounds.

Jingling with royal cash, Geordie was as good as his gold



■ Jinglin' Geordie got his nickname from the sound of coins in his pockets.

Goldsmith George Heriot shared his good fortune with his home town

GEORGE Heriot was a goldsmith with the Midas touch – a canny craftsman who became one of the most astute businessmen Scotland has ever produced.

He was so good at his job and careful with his cash that his legacy lives on to this day in the shape of the famous Edinburgh school he founded.

Heriot was a humble commoner who was lucky, skilled and well connected enough to become the servant of royalty. However, his success was so great and his power so well-entrenched that the royals fell into debt to him.

His relationship with James VI and his wife, Queen Anne, makes Heriot the most powerful and influential tradesman in the nation's history. He became the banker to the royal household, and amassed so much money that his pockets jingled with coins – earning the nickname 'Jinglin' Geordie'.

He was born in Edinburgh in 1563. His family was well known – his father was a goldsmith of distinction in the city, and a member of the Scottish Parliament and Deacon Convener of the Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh.

Heriot became apprenticed to his father, but he soon set up in business on his own. He married in 1586, bought a house in Fishmarket Close, and established a shop next to St Giles' Church in the High Street.

His lucky break came in 1597 when appointed official goldsmith to Queen Anne of Denmark, whom James VI had married in 1590. Commerce was in its infancy, and plate and jewellery were prized because the royals regarded them as solid financial assets which could be used as currency if necessary.

Heriot's work was regarded as exquisite – he was clearly a master of his craft – and Queen Anne was a great

devotee of the fashion of public show and extravagance which were the hallmarks of the period. It didn't take long before Heriot was appointed goldsmith to James VI as well.

His power grew and, because works in precious metals were seen as an easily transferable asset, he was appointed cashier – banker – to the royals.

He was given an apartment in Holyrood Palace for carrying out his business, and his earnings as a goldsmith continued to grow because of the connections he had made to the nobility and gentry.

In 1603, however, Heriot's world changed dramatically. The death of Queen Elizabeth of England gave James VI the English throne as well as the Scottish one, and the whole court moved south to seize the opportunities offered by the Union of the Crowns.

Initially, Heriot stayed at home in Edinburgh, and the king sent orders north for an abundant supply of rings. Queen Anne, too, kept commissions flowing by ordering jewels such as a pendant and stone-encrusted pictures.

However, the goldsmith quickly realised that since most of his patrons were now in London, it made sense to join them there and so he moved south.

The journey was marked by tragedy: two of his sons died on the way – but it served him well. He became one of the very first Scottish businessmen to make commercial capital out of the closer union between Scotland and England.

Heriot moved back to Scotland in 1608, apparently to marry. His first wife had died, and he decided to wed Alice Primrose, who at just 16 was 29 years younger than he. Even in his personal relationships, however, Geordie continued to make sure his pockets jingled. Alice brought with her



■ Founded 375 years ago, George Heriot's School remains one of Edinburgh's best loved institutions, where widows' children can still receive free education.

a huge dowry of 25,000 Scottish merks – the currency of the time.

At the same time, his business in London was continuing to increase. He even received help from the laws of the land – a government proclamation was issued calling on all magistrates within the kingdom to aid him in securing the services of the tradesmen he needed.

However, Heriot started to run into problems – the royals, who had never been as rich as they liked to make out, ran into debt and began to have difficulty paying him. Queen Anne gave him jewels back to pawn and also withdrew £20,000 from public funds to pay her creditors.

Heriot also faced another tragedy when his new wife died at the age of 20, probably due to a complication in pregnancy. To make matters worse, Anne's debts started to stack up again, forcing Heriot to look at selling off his property holdings in Edinburgh so he in turn could meet his debts to others.

The father of his dead wife then demanded back the money from the marriage, which Heriot resisted. The dispute dragged on for years, and the goldsmith became seriously

ill in 1616. By now, he was owed £15,000 by the Crown, and was forced to send a letter to James and Anne, along with a copy to the Privy Council, asking for a settlement. All they gave him, however, was enough to continue to secure his supplies of precious stones from Portugal and Spain.

In 1621 Heriot, by now back in London, had turned his fortunes round and amassed enough money to buy more property in Edinburgh. He discussed the purchase of the estates of Broughton and Pilrig, and also bought up valuable land and houses in England, including Roehampton in Surrey and St Martin's In The Fields in the heart of London.

As his health failed, he began to think about leaving a charitable legacy to allow others to benefit from his wealth.

In September 1623 he drew up a document allowing disposition of his property to fund the foundation of his hospital – in effect, a school – in his

home town, "I intend to found and erect ane publick, pious and charitable worke within the said burgh of Edinburgh," it states.

"In imitation of Chrystis Hospital (Christ's Hospital, London) to be called in all tyme coming."

Heriot stipulated his benefaction be used for the education, nursing and upbringing of youth "being puir orphans and fathirless chuldrene of decayit burgesses and freemen of the said burgh, destitute and without meanes".

In the November, as his health continued to fail, he drew up his will, leaving his land and property holdings at Roehampton and St

Martin's In The Fields to the two daughters of illegitimate liaisons after the death of his second wife. By February of 1624, he was dead.

Heriot's assets were valued at £11,784 in Scotland and £40,123 in England, though debts, expenses and other outgoings reduced the total available for the building of his school to £23,625. The governors of

his trust were quickly appointed and a field south of the Grassmarket chosen as the site for the new building. It was to be an architectural gem – the first completely regular and classically-inspired building design north of the border, and a masterpiece of early 17th-century style.

The building could not be opened for its original purpose until 1659, when Cromwell's troops finally vacated the city and the first 30 pupils were admitted. In the intervening years, however, the governors had invested spare funds in further properties in Edinburgh, building up a considerable estate.

The number of pupils at the school gradually increased, and by the 19th century, the governors were able to set up numerous 'out-schools' around the city, where more than 5,000 pupils were taught.

These included the Watt Institution and School of Arts, which became the Heriot-Watt College, a pioneering technical institution. In 1966 it earned university status and is today a world-leading technologically-based higher education institution. ●



■ Heriot is remembered in name of a city pub.



● Crest of George Heriot's school.

Lasting legacy of learning

Today, George Heriot's School – which has been independent since 1985 – remains one of Edinburgh's best known and loved academic institutions.

The original building has been carefully preserved, and is open to the public on school holidays.

Despite the massive changes in society and the way youngsters

have been educated over the last 375 years, Heriot's original vision of a gift leading to the formation of a charitable institution remains intact.

The sons and daughters of widows continue to be educated for free at the school, and today there are 70 such Foundationers among the roll of 1500 who are

being taught there. No doubt Jinglin' Geordie would be proud of the thriving school and university which continue to bear his name.

He left a remarkable legacy – which goes on helping to ensure that Scots youngsters receive some of the finest schooling available anywhere in the world.



■ Perk Hill in Lumphanan, some 25 miles west of Aberdeen, is the actual scene of MacBeth's death – rather than Dunsinnan as Shakespeare would have it.

Final curtain for MacBeth

**Biker
historian
David R
Ross**



**visits the
last battle
ground
of a Scots
king who
captured
world
attention**

William Shakespeare may have immortalised MacBeth, but his story owes more to the imagination than fact.

The playwright did, however, agree with legend on the site of MacBeth's fortress. This was on Dunsinnan Hill, one of the Sidlaw Hills, which stands eight miles north-east of Perth.

MacBeth was afforded useful views over Strathmore and Blairgowrie from his conical style battle station.

The hill on which his stronghold sat, rises 600ft – gradually on its north-west side and more steeply on its other sides, making it difficult for an attacking force to gain access. The remains of the ancient fort can still be seen.

The king's fortress, 210ft long by 130ft wide, was defended by a rampart and ditches running around the upper part of the hill. There have been various archaeological digs over the years that have uncovered various bits and pieces, but, if legend is correct, the greatest item has still to be found.

According to the stories handed down through generations, the 'real' Stone of Destiny is somewhere hidden within the hill.

There are several versions to the tale, but all have the same theme. When Edward I, 'Longshanks', invaded Scotland in 1296 he stole the various talismen of the Scottish people, including the famous stone on which the Scots kings were crowned. He did

this in the belief that it would give him some sort of right of rule over the northern kingdom.

It has always been stated that the Abbot at Scone where the stone was kept would not be so naive as to let it slip into Edward's clutches, and must have substituted a copy. All legend, of course, but it was reported that on November 19, 1819, a vault was found beneath the soil of Dunsinnan Hill that contained a carved marble stone, which was believed to be the true stone, hidden in 1296 from English hands. More believable because the hill is not too far from Scone.

This story has been repeated over the years: people would be out on the hill, where they would discover a crack in the rock, or where an opening had been created by a small landslide, and the stone would be found within, but the discoverers would be unable to find the opening when returning with others, or another landslide would have covered the hole. If anyone discovers the Stone whilst on a visit to the hill, I'd love to hear from them!

Dunsinnan Hill stands near the village of Collace, a little south of the A94 that runs from New Scone to Coupar Angus. Shakespeare had MacBeth's end come when Birnam Wood marched to Dunsinnan. The original ancient forest has gone, but careful landowners have planted swathes of fir and birches over the last two centuries, so in essence, Birnam

Wood survives with the little village of Birnam at its core.

Birnam sits at the side of the A9, a little south of Dunkeld. Interestingly, there is an old hill-fort on Birnam Hill, a little south of the village, which is pointed out as 'Duncan's Camp' – a reference to King Duncan, slain by MacBeth before he himself assumed the crown.

Birnam Hill is 1324ft high, and the hill-fort stands at an altitude of 658ft on its south-eastern side. It is worth remembering that the armies of both Montrose and Bonnie Prince Charlie poured into the Lowlands through the pass here at Birnam.

The real location of MacBeth's death is Lumphanan, which stands 25 miles west of Aberdeen, on the A980 between Banchory and Alford. His end came after he had been pursued over the Mounth, the great range of hills that separates Deeside from the glens further south, by his successor, Malcolm Canmore, son of King Duncan.

The site of MacBeth's death is said to be on Perk Hill, about one mile north by west of the parish church. The cairn which is said to mark the spot was described in 1793 as "forty yards in circumference and pretty high up in the middle".

MacBeth's body – as Duncan's had been – was interred on the island of Iona, among the bones of many of his ancestors.

Scotland's Story

e-mail: scotlandstory@sundaymail.co.uk

Consultants

Professor Edward J Cowan, Head of Scottish History, University of Glasgow.
Professor Christopher Whitley, Head of History, University of Dundee.
Ian Nimmo, chairman.

Editor Alex MacLeod

Managing editor John Scott

Assistant editor Mark Jardine

Design Samantha Ramsay

Chief sub-editor Richard Wilson Staff writer Allan Burnett

Picture editor Naomi Small Picture research Amella Jacobson

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Senior editor Austin Barrett

Consultant Hugh Currie

Group Advertising Sales Manager

Suzie Cairns Tel: 0141 242 1444

Circulation and Marketing Director

Fred Governio

Circulation Manager Rita Nimmo

Production Manager Helen Sullivan

Financial Controller Jonathan Platt

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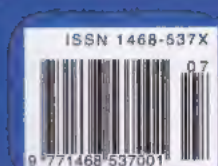
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